

international nonproliferation obligations under them.

Indigenous development of ICBM capabilities is one way, but not the only or even most probable way, for other nations to acquire long-range missile capabilities. Given the willingness of regimes such as North Korea to trade in missiles and components, and Russia's refusal or inability to control the flow of missile components as well as scientific and engineering talent to Third World countries, the trend is clearly in the direction of more proliferation rather than less.

The Russian military is not immune to the tremendous societal strains currently underway in Russia. These strains, along with changes in military doctrine that increase reliance on nuclear weapons, call into question the sanguine assessment that the risk of a deliberate, accidental, or unauthorized ballistic missile launch from Russia remains low. Likewise, Chinese threats to use ballistic missiles raise troubling political and military concerns.

The intelligence community's recent downgrading of the long-range missile threat is premised on assumptions that are highly questionable. The latest intelligence community estimate of the long-range missile threat to the United States is at variance with previous intelligence estimates, the public testimonies and statements of acting and former U.S. intelligence officials, and the analysis of respected non-governmental experts.

The American people remain entirely vulnerable to a ballistic missile attack. As recent focus groups have reaffirmed, Americans are surprised and angered when presented with the knowledge that they remain unprotected against this threat.

FOOTNOTES

¹Secretary of Defense, "Annual Report to the President and the Congress," February 1995, p. 241.

²Testimony of R. James Woolsey, Director of Central Intelligence, before the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, 24 February 1993.

³Cited in "Proliferation, Potential TMD Roles, Demarcation and ABM Treaty Compatibility," report prepared by the National Institute for Public Policy, September 1994, p. 7.

⁴U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, "Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction: Assessing the Risks," August 1993, p. 64.

⁵Institute for National Strategic Studies, "Strategic Assessment 1995: U.S. Security Challenges in Transition," National Defense University, 1995, p. 116.

⁶Director of Central Intelligence, "Emerging Missile Threats to North America During the Next 15 Years," NIE 95-19, November 1995.

⁷Letter dated 1 December 1995. In a similar vein, the former Deputy Director of the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization (BMDO), William Evers, has described the view of the intelligence community this way: "Russia, the former Soviet states, and China will not use [ICBMs] intentionally, will not launch them accidentally, and will not sell them." (Comments at a conference sponsored by the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc., 28 April 1995, reported in John Donnelly, "House Panel to Examine Russian Command and Control Issues," *Defense Week*, 26 June 1995, p. 1+.)

⁸Because NIEs are classified, a detailed discussion of their findings is not possible here. However, a comparative analysis of past and present NIEs indicates that the official assessment of the ballistic missile threat to the United States has been downgraded. The issue of politicization of intelligence is highlighted in Rowen Scarborough and Bill Gertz, "Missile-Threat Report 'Politicized,' GOP Says," *Washington Times*, 30 January 1996, p. A1+.

⁹International Institute for Strategic Studies, "The Military Balance 1995-1996," p. 281.

¹⁰"Libya: Gadhafi Ready to Use Missiles," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, 1 January 1996, p. 4.

¹¹Speech on 18 April 1990, reported by Tripoli Television Service, 19 April 1990, and translated in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Near East and South Asia*, FBIS-NES-90-078, 23 April 1990, p. 8.

¹²Cited in "A Terrorist Talks About Life, Warns of More Deaths," *The Wall Street Journal*, 10 September 1990, p. 1.

¹³Cited in Thomas L. McNaughter, "Ballistic Missiles and Chemical Weapons: The Legacy of the Iran-Iraq War, International Security, Fall 1990, p. 6.

¹⁴See footnote 8.

¹⁵See, for example, R. Jeffrey Smith, "U.S. Waives Objection to Russian Missile Technology Sale to Brazil," *Washington Post*, 8 June 1995, p. A23; Fred Hiatt, "Russian Rocket Sale Strains U.S. Ties," *Washington Post*, 24 June 1993, p. A29.

¹⁶See R. Jeffrey Smith, "U.N. Is Said to Find Russian Markings on Iraq-Bound Military Equipment," *Washington Post*, 15 December 1995, p. A30. According to a U.S. official, Iraq's missile program "poses a threat to all of Europe." A U.N. official, noting that Iraq is seeking to develop a longer-range missile, stated, "Should Saddam build such a missile, it could easily reach London or Moscow." See Stewart Stogel, "Missile Plans by Iraq May Aim at Europe," *Washington Times*, 16 February 1996, p. A1+.

¹⁷Speech before the American Defense Preparedness Association, 18 May 1993.

¹⁸See, for example, Anna Bakina, "Strategic Missile Under Conversion Into Space Booster," *ITAR-TASS*, 17 July 1995, cited in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, "FBIS Report: Arms Control and Proliferation Issues," FBIS-TAC-95-004, 8 August 1995, pp. 38-39 "RSA To Turn Swords Into Plowshares," *Kommersant Daily*, 7 July 1995, p. 9, cited in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, "SS-19s To Be Converted into Rokot Space Carrier Rockets," FBIS Report: "Arms Control and Proliferation," FBIS-TAC-95-014-L, 4 August 1995, p. 97; Vitaly Chukseyev "Russia to Supply Boosters For U.S. Missiles," *ITAR-TASS*, 13 October 1995, cited in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, "Daily Report: Central Eurasia," FBIS-SOV-95-198, 13 October 1995, p. 30.

¹⁹See Bill Gertz, "U.S. Relaxes START, Raising Missile Fears," *Washington Times*, 9 November 1995, p. A1+.

²⁰Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on International Security, International Organizations, and Human Rights, 28 July 1993.

²¹The Emerging Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States," February 1993, p. 1.

²²*ibid.*, p. 1.

²³Ballistic Missile Proliferation: An Emerging Threat," 1992, pp. 26-28.

²⁴Sidney Graybeal and Patricia McFate, "GPALs and Foreign Space Launch Vehicle Capabilities," *SAIC February* 1992, p. 18.

²⁵See Allen Levine's interview of Russian General Batenin, in "Soviet General Says Unrest May Spark Nuclear Terror," *Atlanta Constitution*, 16 October 1991, p. 2.

²⁶See Kurt Campbell, Ashton Carter, Steven Miller, and Charles Zrakat, "Soviet Fission: Control of the Nuclear Arsenal in a Disintegrating Soviet Union," Center for Strategic and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, November 1991.

²⁷Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Subcommittee on European Affairs, reported in Rowen Scarborough, "Russia Losing Nuke Control, Senators Told," *Washington Times*, 23 August 1995, p. A1+.

²⁸On the Russian nuclear alert in January 1995, see "Norwegian Science Rocket Puts Russian Defense On Alert," *Washington Times*, 26 January 1995, p. 16; "Russian Radars Alert Moscow After Detecting Missile Launch," *Agence France-Presse*, 25 January 1995; Vasily Kononenko, "Yeltsin Leaves Chechnya Behind in Lipetsk, But Takes the 'Black Attache Case' With Him," *Izvestiya*, 27 January 1995, p. 1; Nikolay Devyanin, "Football: All That Has Happened, Alas, Had to Happen," *Moskovskiy Novosti*, No. 7, 29 January-5 February 1995, pp. 1, 12.

²⁹See, for example, Alexei Arbatov, "The Mysteries of the Nuclear Button," *Moscow New Times*, No. 4, January 1992, pp. 20-23.

³⁰See Patrick E. Tyler, "As China Threatens Taiwan, It Makes Sure U.S. Listens," *New York Times*, 24 January 1996, p. 1+.

BELMAR ST. PATRICK'S DAY PARADE

HON. FRANK PALLONE, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 28, 1996

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, on the afternoon of Sunday, March 3, 1995, the 23d An-

nual St. Patrick's Day Parade will move through the streets of Belmar, NJ.

Mr. Speaker, from its modest beginnings little more than two decades ago, the Belmar event has become the biggest and best-attended St. Patrick's Day Parade in the State of New Jersey, and one of the finest in the Nation. While not quite as big as the New York City parade, the Belmar event has steadily been attracting crowds of more than 100,000 people, drawn from the Jersey Shore area and throughout our State, surrounding States and other nations, including Ireland itself. Thousands of marchers are expected this year, including members of community organizations, elected officials, marching bands, floats, bagpipers, and leaders of Irish-American organizations. Both the participants and the many spectators always have a wonderful time.

The grand marshal this year is Mr. John F. Kelly of Sea Girt, NJ, a retired Elizabeth, NJ, police officer and a member of numerous community organizations. The deputy grand marshal is Rosemarie Plunkett Reilly of Belmar, the director of the Reilly Funeral Home. A previous grand marshal, Monmouth County Freeholder Thomas J. Powers, will again serve as parade commentator.

The Belmar St. Patrick's Day Parade was established in 1973 by members of the Jerry Lynch Social & Athletic Club. Mr. Lynch is credited with being the parade founder. The first parade, held in 1974, had club members marching in top hats and tails, followed by four marching bands, and numerous fire engines. That year, the crowd of spectators was not much bigger than the contingent of marchers. The first grand marshal was my predecessor, and a name well-known to many of the Members of this body: the late Congressman James J. Howard, a life-long resident of the Jersey Shore who took great pride in his Irish heritage. For their tireless efforts to ensure that the 1996 parade will be another memorable experience, I wish to pay tribute to all of the members of the Belmar St. Patrick's Day Committee, particularly the chairman, Dave Stanley.

Mr. Speaker, it is a great honor for me to pay tribute to the Belmar St. Patrick's Day Parade, a great and proud tradition of the Jersey Shore for Irish-Americans and people of all backgrounds.

TRIBUTE TO LOIS MCDANIEL

HON. EDOLPHUS TOWNS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 28, 1996

Mr. TOWNS. Mr. Speaker, Lois McDaniel is a native of Batesburg, SC and embodies the philosophy that hard work pays big dividends. Lois attended South Carolina State College and Pace University's evening program. She currently serves as the calendar information officer for the Department of City Planning and secretary to the New York City Planning Commission for land use and zoning matters. In her capacity she conducts televised public hearings at city hall for the N.Y.C. Planning Commission.

Prior to joining the Department of City Planning, Ms. McDaniel served as executive secretary to the president of the Bedford-